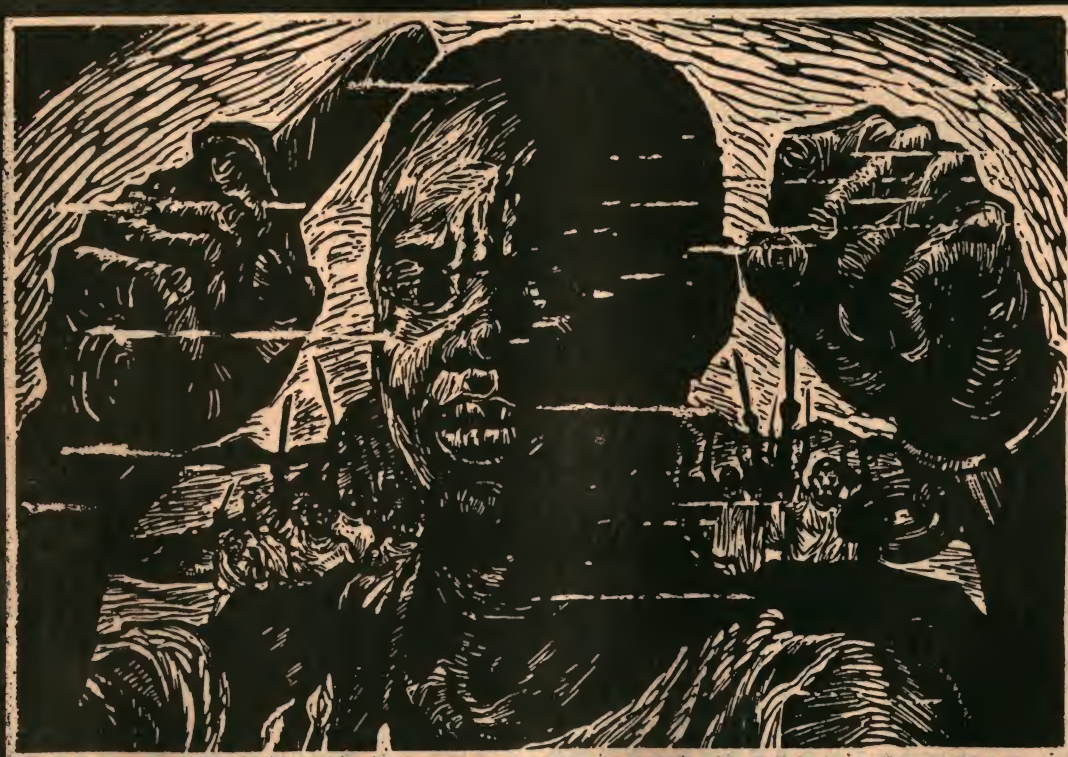


Hermes

By the students, faculty, and alumnae/i
of Wesleyan University

Middletown, Connecticut
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LIBERATE
SOUTH AFRICA



Can't Get There From Here The Prospects for Student-Centered Education

by David Weber

As we at Wesleyan debate our involvement in global issues like divestment, the Central American struggles, and Ronald Reagan, it seems appropriate to reflect on our education here.

Last year, we did address this issue, and the ideas which grew out of it helped create the free university encampment and bring the issue to life for many people. Although seemingly unconnected to many of these "global" issues, the form and content of our education influences what we know (and don't know) about these problems, and even how we think about them.

Although we are not starving, the problems of academia are still important and relevant. If we look at the technical aspects of college education, we can identify at least three areas—pre-registration, University courses and academic planning (particularly general education)—in which Wesleyan has failed to find creative solutions to old problems and to meet the needs of existing programs.

The present pre-registration system began last spring, replacing shop-around. Under shop-around, classes started and students could attend classes without having previously enrolled. This gave them the opportunity to test out a class before being condemned to a semester with a dull professor or obnoxious classmates. Students had ten days to collect course cards, get them signed by their faculty advisors, and hand them in to the registrar.

There were significant problems with shop-around. From a student's perspective, the chaos and anxiety of being shut out of a course was often terrific. Particularly in limited but popular classes, it was not

unusual for 100 students to show up for a 20 person class, with people filling up all available floor space and spilling out into the hall.

Lotteries and qualifying exercises were also tension-ridden affairs. Since most lotteries were held during the first class meeting, a student interested in two conflicting classes would have to guess which class would be easier to get into, or else run across campus to make both lotteries.

In unlimited courses, classes were often shuffled around campus if too many—or not enough—students showed up, and students often went without course books because not enough had been ordered.

The professor's problems were even greater. S/he had no way of knowing how many students would show up, and many professors found themselves having to sell themselves and their courses to an unpredictable student body. At the other extreme, professors of popular courses would often purposefully give boring first lectures, or stress all the work involved in the course, to discourage people from enrolling and bring the class down to a reasonable size.

As a result, the first week of classes was usually lost to lotteries, salesmanship, introductions, and students too busy chasing course cards to do any work.

Pre-registration may have solved some of these problems, but it has created a whole slew of new ones. The first week of classes has been more "real" than in the past, but students can no longer get even a sense of either the professor or the class before they enroll. The problem of being shut out of courses has merely been shifted from some risk for all students to an extremely

heavy burden on new and returning students. Professors no longer have to sell themselves, but now that misleading indicator "reputation" is all students have to go on. At exactly the time when it would be most useful, the *Squid's Eye View* has received its usual lack of interest from the administration and the students. No one has come forward this year to publish it, leaving the student population even more in the dark about professors and classes than usual.

Perhaps the largest problem, though, is the increase in paperwork. Many professors like to look at and perhaps even talk to students before admitting them into their classes. Thus permission of instructor courses have proliferated under pre-registration. This has merely transferred the worst insanity of shop-around to the middle of the semester. The two drop-add periods are a bureaucratized reminiscence of shop-around, with twice as many signatures required and an oppressive deadline at a time when most professors don't have established office hours (or offices, depending on at what stage of construction their building is).

We also have the fiasco of the two-year course book. Professors have to come up with course descriptions much earlier (now in the middle of the semester) than before, and the new course book does not provide a coherent and stable list of courses, when they will be offered, or who will teach them for students to plan their curricula.

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Why Should We Divest?

Why divest?

The debate over divestment drags on. Opponents, including the majority of Wesleyan's administrators and trustees, argue that divestment is economically treacherous (would cost the universities and other institutions money in dividends and gifts from corporations), or politically disastrous (would create revolution in South Africa or market collapse here in America.) Those preaching constructive engagement contend that divestment would only hurt blacks in South Africa. This last argument, unpopular to say the least, has been buttressed by the claim that some investments (in companies abiding by the Sullivan principles) are good and other investments are, well, not so good. These arguments, although in tune with current conservative policy, haven't convinced forty American universities, six state governments, and numerous cities, including our own little town, Middletown. They have chosen not to invest in companies which do business in South Africa, and eventually, their disapproval will be felt by the South African economy. Sooner or later, even those institutions which have supported investing in South Africa will be forced to make their stand, whether moral or economic.

The following points are intended to answer some of the arguments raised by some of our trustees and other opponents of divestment.

Why single out South Africa?

Attention is focused on South Africa not because it has quantitatively less freedom, less justice, or less democratic government than a hundred other countries one could name, but because only in South Africa are these inequalities enforced on the basis of color—not citizenship or birth or merit, but color alone. South Africa is the only country in the world today where this is the case.

Why is corporate withdrawal necessary?

It is obvious that the net effect of

American investment has been to strengthen the economic and military self-sufficiency of South African apartheid regime. Total US financial involvement in South Africa, including direct investments (in South Africa-registered companies), bank loans and shareholdings (in American corporations which operate in South Africa), totals some \$14 billion. Direct U.S. investment has tripled to over \$2.6 billion since 1970.

Even U.S. corporations have acknowledged that this massive investment has not yet had much of an effect on tempering the white South African regime. In August 1984, Exxon spokesperson Phillip Wetz admitted that despite his company's desire to "do more good" by staying in South Africa, "American investment has hardly prevented the consolidation of the repressive apartheid state."

In fact, U.S. investments directly strengthen the system of apartheid. The huge taxes which the U.S. corporations must pay to the South African government are used to fund the brutal military system which keeps the white minority government in power. Foreign equipment such as computer, surveillance equipment, and police trucks also serve to keep the apparatus of apartheid working smoothly. Without this equipment, and without the capital generated by foreign corporations, the South African government could not afford to maintain the system of apartheid, and would be forced to change its policy. "Those who invest in South Africa," said Bishop Desmond Tutu, the winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, "should not think they are doing us a favor, they are here for what they get out of cheap and abundant labor and they should know that they are buttressing one of the most vicious systems in the world today."

What about the Sullivan Principles?
The Sullivan principles are a voluntary code of corporate conduct of the US firms operating in South Africa. They were drafted in 1976. They call for



nonsegregation in the work place and fair employment practices. Many institutions which have been called upon to divest, including our own, have invoked corporate compliance with this code to justify their investments.

We have been told time and again that the American companies, through the adoption of these principles, will bring change to South Africa. But when Ford Motor Company, which used to be the largest employer of black workers in South Africa, asked its workers what they thought of the Sullivan principles, they responded with a four page document:

The Sullivan principles are a "toothless package" and a piece-meal reform that allows the cruel system of apartheid to survive," the document stated. "...The code does not demand that apartheid be abolished, but merely to modernize and ensure its perpetuation." Even Reverend Sullivan himself has finally admitted publicly that his

codes do not have the faintest chance of reforming the apartheid system.

Will corporate withdrawal hurt South African Blacks?

Opponents of divestment sometimes appeal to the sympathies of protesters by claiming that the net results of corporate withdrawal will be harmful for blacks because many of them will lose their jobs. This argument is invalid for several reasons. Fewer than one percent of South African blacks are employed by U.S. corporations, while 100 percent are affected by the cruelty of the apartheid system which the U.S. corporations help to maintain. Steve Biko, a leader of the black consciousness movement, who was killed while in detention in 1977, said shortly before his death:

"It should be understood in Europe and North America that foreign investment supports the present economic system of injustice...the blacks are perfectly willing to suffer the consequences

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FALLOUT WOULD ENGULF...



THE SHADED AREAS.

On Picking Up a Dead Moth

Brown on my rug
not lint or scraps, but
some dry form with
wings, striated body.

I try to flick it away
but the wings just break,
flake off to join the carpet.

Silly I pick up body
and two wings.
Dead film-covered leaves drop
into the toilet.
Pile up.

Frank Steinfield 9/18/85

In Protest of Sexist Advertising

The following letter was sent to the president of Casio, Inc. by Michael Levy, a former Wesleyan student. Listed below are additional addresses of corporations, published by Citizens for Media Responsibility without Law, which published in the December 1984 Issue of Penthouse.

August 12, 1985

President, Casio, Inc.
15 Gardner Road
Fairfield, N.J. 07006

Dear Mr. President:

Because of your advertising in the December 1984 issue of Penthouse magazine, I am now beginning an indefinite boycott of all Casio products. I am not opposed to erotica, nudity or sex, but am opposed to violent pornography. I am writing to you as a fellow man, to encourage you to think about the connection between violent pornography and men's violence against women; I encourage you to look at the role which your company's advertising plays in promoting violence against women; and I urge you to recognize your social responsibility in helping to end this cycle of violence.

I will continue to boycott Casio products until your company publicly renounces violent pornography and withdraws all support for, and advertising in, Penthouse magazine (and all other magazines which confuse violence with sexuality). CITIZENS FOR MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY WITHOUT LAW (they are against censorship) instituted this boycott as a result of your company's advertising in the December 1984 issue of Penthouse magazine. The December issue in particular, and Penthouse magazine in general, promotes violence against women through violent pornography. The December issue showed pictures of Japanese women tied up, hung from trees, and hurled onto rocks, with several of them appearing to be dead, and all of them unclothed or semi-clothed in "sexual" positions. These violent images of women as passive sex objects to be sacrificed for men's pleasure are a fine example of the way violent pornography dehumanizes women in the eyes of men. This process of dehumanization, which is much like military training's process of dehumanizing its enemy, makes it possible for men to do otherwise unthinkable acts of violence—rape, battery, and emotional violence—to women. It is your responsibility as a male human to take a serious look at the connection between violent pornography and the violence which is done to women every minute of every day in this country. Personally, I hate to see my fellow men encourage this madness in any way, and looking back on my own life, I am sickened by the many ways

in which I have unknowingly promoted the exploitation and victimization of women—we all have. It is time for this to stop. Neither women nor men asked for this despicable situation to begin with, but it is nevertheless the responsibility of all of us to be part of the solution rather than part of the problem.

I urge you, as a leader in the business community, to discuss these issues with your colleagues at MATSUSHITA ELECTRIC, CANON, MEREDITH PUBLISHING (Penthouse), MAGNAVOX, SANYO, AND B. DALTON, whose companies are also being boycotted for the same reason. I am sure that you have spent a great deal of your life in pursuit of the powerful position which you now hold, and I strongly urge you to make good use of that power—to do everything within your power to help stop violence against women. We men also suffer from that violence in many ways, only some of which are as the friends, brothers, fathers, sons, husbands and lovers of women who are raped or beaten. I assure you that I am writing this letter not only in the interests of the world as a whole, but also in the interests of you as an individual man.

Sincerely,

Michael Levy
3492 18th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Panasonic
Matsushita Electric
One Panasonic Way
Secaucus, New Jersey 07094

Canon
One Canon Plaza
Lake Success, New York 11042
(516) 448-6700

Magnavox
P.O. Box 6950
Knoxville, Tennessee 37914
(614) 521-4316

Meredith Publishing Corporation
Locust at 17th
Des Moines, Iowa 50336
(Penthouse Publishers)

Sanyo
1200 W. Artesia
Compton, California 90220
(213) 537-5830

Casio, Inc.
(affiliate of Casio Computers,
Tokyo, Japan)
15 Gardner Road
Fairfield, New Jersey 07006
(201) 575-7400

B. Dalton
(major distributor)
7505 Metro Blvd.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55435
(612) 893-7000

Zeitgeist

dinner was so boring
I lifted my spoon
as dad spoke of work and sorts —
mom nodded her head so sure.

I nearly lost my food

when I saw my elongated image
in that shiny silverware
my nose stretched my
eyes s

a
n
t
e
d towards my ears as
I childishly puckered my lips.

a huge pimple stuck out from
still chubby cheeks, I could
see the pus erupting — topping itself
like cool whipped cream.

dad looked over the juke
sighed, and said, "Strange girl,
our daughter is a strange one."

smirking with satisfaction
I put the spoon up my nose.

look at me—look at me—look at me

-elysa gordon



WESOUP!

St. Vincent dePaul's Place serves food to the poor and hungry six days a week. On Sundays they are not able to open their soup kitchen, for religious reasons. On the third and fourth Sundays of every month other groups serve dinner. That means that on two Sundays of each month, the poor and hungry of Middletown are not fed. I am interested in helping a house or fraternity prepare Sunday dinners on the first two Sundays of the month.

If anyone is interested in this project please try to reach me; my name is Beka Schreiber, 346-0632, Box 947.

The Right Buys In to Campus Politics

By Mark Ungar

When conservatives talk about making conservatism the most popular ideology on college campuses, they mean it. During the past six years, right-wing business and political leaders have poured millions of dollars into youth organizing and training, and the result has been a strong and extensive network of conservative groups on campuses throughout the country. This network is so strong, in fact, that an unprecedented number of college students are identifying themselves as conservatives, and a majority of young people voted for Ronald Reagan in 1984.

The reason these groups do so well is that nearly every one of them can count on particular individuals or corporations to provide money, training, speakers, and materials on a regular basis. Most can also tap into the strength and clout of the Republican Party. With such powerful bases of support, the conservative youth movement has been able to set up operations at over a thousand public and private universities.

The most well-known and well-funded effort has been in journalism. With the backing of the New York-based Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA), about 70 conservative newspapers have sprung up since 1979. Through such funding and support, IEA hopes to "contend effectively for control of the media" and to battle the "one left-wing radical voice" heard on campuses. Founder William Simon calls it "the war of ideas."

IEA has made quite sure that none of its newspapers lack the money to help fight this war. Grants of up to \$15,000 each keep the publications going, and nation-wide scouting supplies them with fresh talent. The Institute also



spends \$200,000 a year on its "Young Journalists Program," which provides money, connections, and periodical conferences for IEA member newspapers.

Several of these student publications have attracted controversy and criticism. The "Dartmouth Review," for example, came under attack last year after printing a racist article against affirmative action which was entitled "Dis Sho Ain't No Jive Bro." Some papers have been criticized for printing too much non-student material, and others for not being run by students at all.

Most of the actual political training

for conservative youth is done by other organizations, particularly the Leadership Institute, run by Reagan insider Morton Blackwell. This institute searches the country for young conservatives "with potential" and places them "in all areas" of public policy. Leftists "deliberately organize and radicalize students to turn them against their country," said Blackwell in a recent *Conservative Digest* interview. "They know just how to tap the federal treasury for grants and contracts that bring their side billions of dollars annually." LI's goal, he emphasized, is to teach conservative youth "the organizing skills that can be used to win a

student-government election on campus, a state assembly or city-council campaign, or to organize any sort of conservative activity."

No matter what its goals, each right-wing group has plenty of money to help reach that goal. According to the *Interchange Report*, a publication which analyzes current trends on the Right, many organizations have been spending hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, and can afford to dramatically increase their budgets from year to year. The U.S. Industrial Council Educational Foundation (USICEF), for example, spent \$730,000 in 1984 to place conservative speakers on campuses and to publish a monograph series. That amount was six times greater than the amount spent only four years earlier. Sometimes money is allocated for specific programs. In 1983, the Colorado-based Students for a Better America allocated \$10,000 just to fight the campus consumer action Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs), and the United Students for America (USA) Foundation spends \$250,000 each year on a project to produce a weekly radio program and get conservatives to speak at colleges.

Most of this money, not surprisingly, comes from some of the country's wealthiest industries and corporations. IEA, which got started with \$100,000 grants from various companies, is probably the most dependent on corporate gifts. It is currently subsidized by 300 corporations, including US Steel, J.P. Stevens, Nestle, Coca-Cola, Northrop, and two of the big three auto makers. Some of the corporate contributors to IEA have also branched out into other

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A View from the Valley

An Interview with Mark Masselli

By John Lacrosse and Vicki Kurtz

Hermes: Tell us what you do, Mark.

Mark: I'm a community organizer. I grew up in Middletown and have been working for the past 15 years on a wide range of projects here in Middletown, primarily the Community Health Center (at the north end of Main St.) which I started 15 years ago. The Health Center is a neighborhood facility which has, over the years, expanded to serve Middlesex County, which extends from Middletown all the way south to Old Saybrook. The Health Center provides a whole range of health and human services.

I also have been involved with Community Action for a Greater Middletown (CAGM), which is part of the anti-poverty organization that Lyndon Johnson started in the mid-sixties. I'm currently president of their board and have worked with them for the past ten years. CAGM provides a full range of services to neighborhood people throughout Middlesex County, including energy assistance, day care programs, elderly meals programs, transportation, adult learning programs, second language training and a whole host of other support programs for community people.

Hermes: How many people are involved in CAGM?

Mark: CAGM has a staff of about 115-120 people and a budget of about 3.5 to 4 million per year coming from both the Federal government and the state government. Most of the money is distributed through the state's Dept. of Human Resources.

Hermes: Do you see it, then, as primarily a service organization, or are you able to do some lobbying around related issues?

Mark: CAGM tends to be primarily a service organization, but we do some advocacy work through a division called Neighborhood Services which assists in developing community projects in different targeted low-income neighborhoods.

Hermes: You also do a fair amount of independent lobbying...

Mark: Well, I've been involved both individually and through the Health Center. Recently I've been working to bring the city of Middletown about in terms of its investment policies for its pension fund. It turns out that Middletown has a \$40 million pension fund of which around \$10 million is invested in companies doing business in South Africa. I recently made a proposal and presenta-

tion to the Common Council asking them to totally disinvest those pension funds over a three year period. At this point it looks like most of the powers that be are in support of that effort. Hopefully, in September or October the Common Council will take a vote on that. [The proposal was recently passed by the council—ed.]

Outside of that, I've done a lot of work with the Health Center on both a state and a national level. We run the battered women's shelter in Middletown (New Horizons); we also put out a national newsletter on battered women that goes out to 15,000 individuals in the United States and Canada. We've been instrumental in efforts across the U.S. to get money from the marriage license tax devoted primarily to battered women's shelters. We were one of the three forces in Washington that helped create some legislation for battered women—although at this point, there is only a framework for funding set up.

We've also been heavily involved in issues of confidentiality, trying to insure that women who go into a shelter and those women who work there are protected by the laws of confidentiality. Here in Connecticut I resisted a grand jury subpoena for a period of time, out of which came Connecticut's law of confidentiality, which was the first law in the nation that gave privileges to battered women's shelters across the state.

So, we see ourselves as a service as well as an advocacy organization, both locally, in Washington, and at state capitals across the country when appropriate.

Hermes: And with a great deal of success it sounds.

Mark: Well, part of the reason for that success is that we collaborate with other advocacy or empowerment groups at national, state, and local levels. That's really the key behind organizing. You have to begin a process of participating and working with other people to change your environment.

Hermes: You've lived in the Middletown area for most of your life, as you mentioned earlier. How would you describe Middletown to someone who was new to the area. What are its good and bad points?

Mark: I like the sort of Melting Pot aspect of Middletown, in that on one hill we have Connecticut Valley Hospital (CVH), which is one of Connecticut's three state mental institutions, and on the other hill we have one of the finer universities in the country—Wesleyan University. Both institutions in their own right! There's a

wonderful trickle of energy, people and interest that comes down from both hills and brings us different perspectives that revitalize this community.

With Wesleyan it comes annually, about this time, with a whole new group of fresh people coming into town. With CVH it's a little more regular, as people are sent through the revolving doors of state mental institutions. Both places bring a mixture of happiness and sadness to the town. For me, they're part of the richness of Middletown. They have been here for many years and I don't think of them as separate from the town.

Hermes: What about other local communities?

Mark: There are a whole number of other groups. Middletown is predominantly made up of Italian immigrants from over the last 60-70 years. There's a very large Polish community and Irish community. It's probably a good reflection of the rest of Connecticut. Immigrants came at the turn of the century, after landing at Ellis Island, up the Northeast Corridor, and they found themselves situated in various towns. By now, their children and grandchildren are prominent in those communities.

A large section of the Italian population in Middletown came from a small town in Italy called Mililili. St. Sebastian's church on Washington and Broad Streets is a replica of the church in Mililili. I think that Mililili is our sister town as well.

It's an evolving community. There's a nice healthy bit of liberalism and conservatism. There's always the repulsion to changes they may hear about at the University, but this town has voted in a very liberal way. I think we were one of the few towns in Connecticut that went for McGovern in '72 and for Mondale in '84. So there is a strong democratic tradition here, and I tend to think of that as a tradition that accepts changes and new ideas.

Hermes: In general, how would you characterize the relationship between Wesleyan and Middletown, in terms of students and also in terms of Wesleyan as an institution operating in Middletown?

Mark: It's a very complex relationship and doesn't really lend itself to one perspective. There are people who are obviously threatened by the University; who feel that the University looks down at the Middletown population not only literally, but figuratively as well. There are others who say that the University is too involved in the town's problems, and feel that they don't need the Wesleyan

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Walker: Wes to West

By Todd Miller

American History professor Clarence Walker will be leaving Wesleyan after the spring term to take a faculty position offered to him by the University of California at Davis.

Walker, who came directly to Wesleyan in 1973 from the University of California at Berkeley says, "The furthest east I had ever gone was Texas."

He has since taught courses here in American History, American and Afro-American studies and has become known for his candor and involvement in issues of civil rights and justice in politics. Walker has been marked by students and faculty as a great asset to the entire community, and one whose contributions are valued.

"Professor Walker is a terrific lecturer," says Abbot Chambers, '88. "He challenges his students with his knowledge and relaxes them with his great sense of humor. He will surely be missed."

"We are so glad he has stayed as long as he did," commented Wesleyan Provost William Kerr, "We wish he would stay forever, and we're sorry to see him go."

Walker states outright his desire for "a change" and a return to California but also says that it is due to the deterioration of the terms of employment—specifically a rise in students and subsequent university attempts to accommodate this with increased class size.

"This is a first-rate institution, there's no denying that, but something has happened in terms of the students having access to courses and the professor's having time to handle them."

Kerr agrees that the instructors that arrived during Walker's time have since then been experiencing a period of "heightened pressure."

"When he came here in 1973 there were 1616 students. Now there are 2659." Up until last year the number of instructors had been increased once since 1973.

"The conditions of the professoriate have declined," states Walker, adding, "The administration has done two things: it has saved the institution financially, but on the other hand, I think that this has come at the expense of the faculty's prerogative."

In addition to student increase, salary, he says has been a factor in his leaving: "I tend to think that the faculty deserved more than a four percent raise last year."

Walker acknowledges that university programs nationwide are suffering similar problems; however, he is also still wary of Wesleyan's comparative concern for treatment of faculty:

"What I hear from students is that they complain about the overcrowding. What I hear from faculty is that they complain they are not paid sufficiently and that they are overworked. I expect to hear these complaints from both groups."

He adds, "But I would say this: my leaving here is due to the fact that I got

a spectacular offer, and I know others who would go if they got a similar offer."

Walker has also expressed his discomfort with the educational attitudes among black students on the campus, which he feels are overly controlled by the black student organization UJAMAA.

"It seems to me that it's a mistake to assume (as I think some people do) that UJAMAA has some sort of hold on blackness."

Walker feels that, as of late, the group's purpose on the campus has been becoming less focused as the black enrollment increases and becomes more diversified.

"It's predictable that as the student body becomes more and more integrated, their (UJAMAA's) positions on a number of issues become irrelevant to the life of the student body."

He adds, "One of the ways you could explain Farrakhan's coming was that it was a desperate attempt to assert authority."

Walker feels that there is too much tension between blacks on the campus who are involved in both UJAMAA and Malcolm X house and "black students who don't ever go to that house."

"I've always thought that there should not be a separate black dormitory, and that even though the University says that it is not official University policy, by allowing it to exist, it tacitly legitimizes the whole thing."

Walker considers his outlook on life



one that has always been of skepticism, which he says "has made me a happy person."

"I'm very happy to see people who are accommodating. I'm just not that way. Life is too complicated to be dependent upon other people for answers to life's problems. Like Richard Wright, I'm more interested in questions than I am in answers."

At Davis, Walker will teach a freshman introductory course in American History, a survey course in Afro-American history, and a graduate seminar. ●



Where's the Beef?

By Neil deMause

"THE WESLEYAN DEMOCRATS (which was recently rechartered by the Democratic National Committee's college arm, the College Young Democrats of America) will have their first meeting on Wednesday, September 11th, 4PM in Fisk 110."

So read the flyers which appeared earlier this month announcing the re-formation of the Wesleyan Democrats, which is not Wesleyan for Democratic Action, which is in turn not Democratic Socialists for Citizens Action. On a campus with so decidedly liberal a population as Wesleyan's, a large number of liberal-to-left groups is to be expected; but this sudden population explosion among the more general "action" groups, in addition to the numerous "single-issue" groups that exist, can lead one to wonder, "Just why do we need the Wesleyan Democrats, anyway?"

To try to answer that question, we have J.B. Davis, founder and president of Wesleyan Democrats, and current co-chair of the Wesleyan Jewish Action Committee. Davis, who describes himself as "more or less a liberal, although I hate the connotation now of being called a neo-liberal," says that the "model" he expects the group to work under is "to take different leaders on campus who were involved in various campaigns, and get them under one banner so we could do maildrops, or do canvassing, and do all these things together...and not step on each other's toes." There is a need, Davis argues, for a broad-based, permanently established group to help support liberal Democratic candidates, adding, "It's not so much that [other groups] couldn't do it—it's just that, I think, certain groups tend to turn people off."

The primary activities of the group, according to Davis, will be bringing in speakers (Christopher Dodd and Tony Coelho were two suggested possibilities) and voter registration, although "the single greatest concern of the group would be education of the voters on the issues and how the Democrats differ from the

Republicans—I think education kind of branches out into voter registration." He also suggested the group might co-sponsor "single-issue" activities with other campus groups (possible issues brought up at the initial meeting included Apartheid, the MX, and the Coors boycott, all presumably issues unlikely to "turn people off.")

It was becoming rather obvious that the group would be in for some conflicts between its various purposes under this format, and I asked Davis whether there wasn't the danger that issues would be ignored in the face of the need to "support 'our' candidate at all costs." After hedging a bit—"When you get chartered by the national party, you're theoretically supposed to follow the constitution and the platform...[The platform] is something to hold up to the media, to say, 'This is what we, as College Democrats, believe.'"—Davis said that he had confronted this problem before, in Minnesota: "I had to go on the radio and debate [for Gary] Hart's position, where I didn't agree with everything. I think we can still come out supporting the Democratic candidate, and maybe send him a letter, for example, saying, 'Listen, as a group, we support you, we will work for you, but we don't agree with you on this stand, and we would appreciate if you would look at changing this stand.'" Supporters of a candidate, he pointed out, can often criticize to the greatest effect, since the candidate will listen to them for fear of losing his voters.

In any case, whatever one's views on the "proper" means of effecting political change, it is certainly refreshing to find the head of a group designed to "bring people into the political process" saying that "politicians are all a little crazy—you gotta be to go into this stuff." Any potential crazies out there who might be interested in the Wesleyan Democrats can contact J.B. Davis at P.O. Box 481, or 347-9146.

Note: The Wesleyan Democrats received no funding from the SBC; its future remains unclear... ●

Divest

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quences! We are quite accustomed to suffering." The willingness of South African blacks to lose their jobs, and even their lives, in the fight against apartheid has been proven by events such as recent miners' strike.

The debate within the black community on the issue of divestment has been severely limited by the security act which was passed in 1982. Under this act, any person, whether within or outside of South Africa, who supports divestment commits the crime of "subversion" for which the penalty is up to 20 years in prison. Despite the security act, many South Africans, like Steve Biko, have had the courage to risk imprisonment by taking a stand against the presence of foreign corporations.

How does this relate to Wesleyan?

Wesleyan currently has approximately \$17 million invested in corporations which do business in South Africa. Former South African Prime Minister John Vorster has said that "each trade agreement, each bank loan, each new investment is another brick in the wall of our continued existence." As long as Wesleyan refuses to divest, our money helps to supply the "bricks" which build the system of apartheid. ●



Michael Harrington speaking at a DSCA rally last fall

By Dan Kolbert

Michael Harrington, a co-founder of the Democratic Socialists of America, has a long history in the leftist-radical movement in the United States. He began his career as a Catholic Worker, a radical/pacifist movement working within the Church. He later left the Church, continuing his research of poverty in America within a socialist/Marxist framework. His first book, *The Other America* (1962) is often credited as a major influence on Kennedy and, subsequently, Johnson's War on Poverty. Harrington's latest book is *The New American Poverty*.

Hermes: Have you seen much progress since '65 (War on Poverty) or '68 (Nixon's election)?

Harrington: There are two things: I would not make my baseline '65. I'd make my baseline when I really got involved in this sort of thing, which was '48-'49. I went to the Catholic Worker in January of '51. And the reason that baseline's very important is that I got involved in the radical movement at absolutely the worst time in the 20th century; Joe McCarthyism, there was nothing going on, everyone was frightened out of his mind. The Cold War was going on, anyone who was critical of the United States was regarded as a Red...The result is that if you ask me how things are going, the answer is they're a hell of a lot better now than when I got involved.

Secondly, there has obviously been a cyclical character to things. That is to say, when I got involved for the first period, roughly 1950-64...I was a marginal character, nobody knew about me...I was doing my research, I was happy as a clam....

Then the period changed; the Sixties came, and I was working with Dr. King, plus *The Other America* becomes a sufficient media success to change my life, and suddenly, in 1964...I had succeeded beyond my wildest dreams. Here I wrote this book, thought it would be no big deal...The next thing I knew I was sitting around in a

I'm an eternal optimist...if you're a socialist in America, you'd better be an optimist.

board room in the Peace Corps, talking to the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, the Secretary of Labor, the Deputy Secretary of HEW, and they were listening to me. That was rather heady stuff.

The Trials of an American Socialist Intellectual

An Interview with Michael Harrington

Then, obviously, with Viet Nam, and many other things, that period came to an end, but came to an end slowly. I think that Watergate...artificially prolonged the liberal-left period in American life, that we really were beaten in 1968 and we didn't know it. One of the reasons why it didn't sink in is we had the feeling that we'd driven Nixon from office in the 1970's....

So I'd say in the last period, things have not been quite so jolly. But I think they're going to change again. I'm an eternal optimist. As I tell audiences, if you're a socialist in America, you'd better be an optimist....

The second part of my answer to that would be that...the fact that I am a radical, that if you allow me about 500 pages, I consider myself a Marxist, but only if you allow me to define what I mean by Marxist...When I joined the left movement in 1951, I joined it for a lifetime. I joined it at a very low point. I did not join it because I thought it was an immediate road to success and power. In 1951 it was anything but. When I joined I thought it might be an immediate road to jail. Unlike a liberal, where you can have very deep convictions, I have an analysis of society, and in my analysis, it's quite possible that my views will suffer very badly for the next 10-20 years...And my attitude is...that it's quite possible that socialism will never come about, that...it will never be decided in my lifetime. And so if you said to me "Alright, Harrington, in the next 15 years you're going to go die, and in the next 15 years it's going to go down," my answer would be "I'll keep fighting because maybe in the next 20 years it'll go up, somebody I helped recruit into the movement today will be around with some memory of what I said, and maybe I'll have my impact after I die."

So what I'm saying is that a radical is, among other things, a person whose politics are historical. And that can be bad; but, it's good in the sense that it can insulate you from some of the ups and downs which affect people who are less theoretical.

Hermes: About radicals—I assume you've read Mel Piehl's *Breaking Bread* (A history of the Catholic Worker—the chapter on "Catholic Liberals" discusses Harrington at length)? He doesn't have such nice things to say about you. Here are two quotes: "Harrington's great interest in effective action in politics gradually led him to soft-peddle prophecy in order to deal with the immediate problem," and this is a paraphrase—Harrington's working with Johnson, knowing it (the War on Poverty) wouldn't go far enough, keeping socialism out of *The Other America*, was "politically defensible but ideologically hard to swallow."

Harrington: Yeah, it's been said. I have my critics, but I think they're wrong. My attitude when I wrote *The Other America*—I thought about it, obviously—do I bring

Secondly, I felt that—and this was I guess somewhat heretical—I'd come to the *theoretical* conclusion, which a fair number of socialists had also come to, but which was a revision, that capitalism did not need that extreme of poverty which existed in the United States, that it was possible within a modified capitalism to abolish the kind of poverty we had in the United States. Not to get equality, not to get justice, but simply that I felt that in capitalism in Sweden, which is still very capitalist, even though it's had socialist governments most of the time for the last half-century or more, but in Sweden...people are simply not hungry the way they are in the United States now and then. And so my theoretical justification, which was controversial, is that I felt that the politics of capitalist reform, which Karl Marx had never foreseen because it came long after he was dead, made it possible within capitalism to do all kinds of things....

And also, there was a very conscious decision. The book I wrote after *The Other America* was called *The Accidental Century* and that's an explicitly socialist book. And part of the deal I made to myself was I said "OK, I'll write this book (*The Other America*), which is a polemical book addressed to the general public; it's not a theoretical book it's not a deep book, and I want to try to move people to do something about poverty, and for that they don't have to become socialists. However, just so no one gets that wrong idea, I will immediately then write a book in which I make very clear that I am a socialist....

Being a radical in the United States is walking a tightrope; because you have in the United States, no mass left movement, no mass anti-capitalist movement. Were I in any European country, the likelihood is I'd be in Parliament, and I could have both my philosophy and my pragmatics with some tension, but it would not be as enormous as in this country, where anti-capitalism is simply not understood by the majority of the people. And every time I go out to speak, or do radio interviews...I was doing a radio talkshow, originating somewhere in the Southwest. One woman gets on the phone and says "I know what you are; you're a socialist." And I've heard this stuff before, so I said, "well, Ma'am, it depends on what you mean by socialism. If what you mean by socialism is what they've got in the Soviet Union, I'm an anti-socialist; I do not like that at all. But if you mean by socialism democratic socialism, I sure am." As soon as you use the term, you start pedaling all over the lot, saying what you're not.

Hermes: Has that situation improved at all?

Harrington: Yes. The big improvement was that the

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Education

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The University Course program, begun about ten years ago, serves primarily to provide Frosh with seminar classes. It also provides some seminar general education courses (i.e. courses which introduce or integrate the particular and important modes of thought and inquiry of various fields), particularly at the stage II level. As late as 1981 and 1982 the University Course program had enough spaces for every frosh to enroll in at least one of these seminars.

This year, pressured to teach upper level courses and do research amidst intense competition for tenure positions and grant money, individual professors and departments chose to offer fewer University courses to an expanding freshman class. The result was openings for less than half of the class of '89, marking the dramatic decline of a program of which Wesleyan is (or was) rightly proud.

The availability of seminars for freshmen with the best professors the University has is a crucial part of Wesleyan's curriculum. It shows some respect for students as individuals who can participate in intelligent discussions. It also provides an outlet for active and involved learning in the classroom by students and professors. Besides, we advertise it. We should deliver on our promises or else we as an institution fall prey to practicing and perpetuating the dominant and misleading forms of communication (as exemplified by advertising) so prevalent in our society. For Wesleyan to maintain some integrity, and the small liberal-arts-school aspect of the "little university," seminars for freshmen are an absolute necessity.

Last year was supposedly a year of discussion and debate on the future of academics and curriculum at Wesleyan. Departments, programs and professorships were to be shaped along with the nature and direction

of Wesleyan's education. Two years earlier ('82-'83) Colin Campbell appointed a committee of professors from various sectors of the university to review existing conditions and to make recommendations for the future. This committee published "A Report on Academic Planning." (It can be read in the reserve room.) The diversity of ideas and ideals among the authors was evident and they clearly did not work on a consensual basis. The RAP was able to set some parameters for the debate, but because of its generally conservative approach to the problems, its lack of respect for the autonomy of students and to a lesser extent of professors, its incoherence and lack of inclusiveness, the RAP received a cold reception from the Wesleyan Community.

One of the most controversial and hotly debated issues last year was the problem of general education. General education is that part of an individual's academic program which gives him/her a broad intellectual base, introduces him/her to various modes of thought (and action?), and facilitates the integration of knowledge accumulated.

Presently the needs of general education are addressed primarily by the distribution expectations, perceived as inadequate by many students and professors. One of the major tasks of Colin's committee was to address this problem.

The RAP contained government professor Don Moon's solution to the problems of general education, the Program of General Studies (POGS). The report claimed to improve the students "critical awareness of different modes of inquiry and significant exposure to the ideas and methods of a range of disciplines;" promoting integration and enhancing "practical judgment through attention to values and reflection on the

way knowledge can and should be used" (page 1-5). The result was a recommendation for requirements, the content of which was clearly biased by traditional Western (white male) values. Although the proposal for requirements was quickly dropped in the face of overwhelming opposition, POGS remains a possibility (i.e. broader expectations). It is the only practical, comprehensive solution to the acknowledged inadequacies of general education at Wesleyan to come from an administration sponsored committee. With peoples' attention focused on divestment, Central America and other issues, its implementation with little discussion is a definite possibility.

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For those of you who were not here last year, or were not paying attention, the POGS proposal went something like this. (See Section II, Pages 9-11 of the RAP for details.) Between 8 and 11 courses outside a student's major field would be required (or expected) from everyone. This would be between 1/4 and 1/2 of a student's total course load at Wesleyan. Included among these courses would be the following: 3 courses in literature or philosophy, including "important texts" (always a dubious term); one course in the arts; 3 courses in history and the social and behavioral sciences, at least one of which should be a history course (we can see a particular North-West bias in the

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Latin American Update

A Synopsis of Recent Events

by Conagh Doherty

Most of the information in this article originally appeared in the Latin American Newsletter Weekly.

Guatemala

Guatemala is presently under military rule. The head of state is General Oscar Mejia Victores. His regime is a serious violator of human rights. An estimated 40,000 people have been killed in the last few years, and an equal number have disappeared. Forced relocation and displacement victims are in the 100,000's. The Guatemalan people are subject to a resettlement program designed to keep them away from the contaminating influence of guerilla groups, and are forced to move into "model villages" (similar to Vietnamese "strategic hamlets"). All adult males are forced to serve in civil patrols. The economic situation in these model villages is miserable, which may actually make the villagers more open to the guerrillas.

Overt military rule may end soon. Elections are scheduled for this November 3rd. The congress passed some new laws: coups are illegal (as if that would deter anyone), military officials must be retired for over six years before joining the government, and the Communist Party has been legalized.

Nevertheless, the violence continues. Three members of the human rights organization, Group for Mutual Support, have been assassinated in the last four months. The U.S. congress is now considering sending Guatemala an extra \$10 million in military aid, as a reward for the alleged (erroneous) improvement in human rights conditions.

El Salvador

President Jose Napoleon Duarte was elected last year. His main opposition was Roberto D'Aubisson, leader of many of the famous death squads. These elections have been widely praised by the Reagan government as proof of the return of democracy to El Salvador, and a validation of further military aid. In fact, they were not so free or democratic. The ballots were color-coded, so it was obvious for whom one was voting. The FMLN, the main guerrilla opposition, did not have a candidate.

After the election, Duarte swung further to the right. He was annoyed with the continuing strikes, and in June there was a wave of arrests of union leaders. A pregnant woman and four policemen were shot by the army as troops burst into a state hospital. The army was trying to expel strikers, and kept doctors and nurses tied up on the floor for several hours.

Civilian casualties in the war have risen recently. The weekly bombing of civilians in FMLN-controlled areas continues. The Salvadoran army uses American planes, American napalm, and white phosphorus. As the army encroaches on FMLN territory, thousands of peasants flee to the cities.

The Church is trying to get the guerrilla/Duarte government talks going again. The FMLN-FDR are willing, but Duarte is not.

The guerrillas had an active summer. An unclaimed attack on a San Salvador sidewalk cafe killed thirteen people, including four U.S. marines. While this attack is "credited" to the guerrillas, there is also a rumor that the U.S./CIA was behind it. A road block to protest the arrest of trade union leaders was 90 % effective in the north and east. The guerrillas also attacked the San Salvador prison and freed 149 prisoners.

On September 12, President Duarte's daughter was kidnapped. Duarte's regime immediately laid blame on the FMLN, who are maintaining a strict silence about the matter. Duarte's daughter managed her father's campaign and her kidnapping is said to be putting severe emotional strain on the President. The U.S. is considering sending the FBI to help with the investigation.

Honduras

The president is Roberto Suazo Cordoba of the Liberal Party (not to be confused with the U.S. liberal party—Latin American Liberal parties are far to the right). There will be elections in Honduras this November 24th.

Cordoba has protested against Sandinista border violations, but refuses to permit an international commission into the area. Journalists are not permitted near the border either, and this secrecy is perceived as an effort to hide Contra encampments. It is estimated that there are 4,000 contras in Honduras, and it appears that the Honduran army is in cahoots with some contra leaders. A deserter from the FDN contras told the press that his command left the border on the advice of Honduran Military Intelligence.

Disappearances and murders have increased in the border areas lately. Peasants report that contras have found employment as para-militaries or security guards for landowners.

In August, there were rumors that Suazo Cordoba was planning a coup to keep himself in power. The Commander in Chief of the army admits he received an invitation, from "various sectors," to lead a coup.



Nicaragua

Reagan accused Nicaragua this summer of being the newest member of a five-nation "confederation of terrorist states" with a "fanatical hatred" for the U.S. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega had some criticisms of the U.S. too, but his were a little more plausible. He accused the U.S. of manipulating and stage managing border incidents in order to create a pretext for invasion. He called for a foreign commission to monitor the border area.

Reagan's embargo against Nicaragua was unpopular even with the ultra-conservative Nicaraguan cardinal Obando y Brava. He said it was only worsening the situation. Reagan invoked the Vatican, too, when he claimed John Paul II's support for his "peace efforts" in the region. The Pope soon corrected him.

Part of a bill that passed Congress on June 27 forbids the U.S. Marines from invading Nicaragua without Congress' permission. But Congress did vote to give the contras \$27 million in "non-lethal aid." As soon as the contras heard the good news they launched a major offensive in northern Nicaragua. They were unsuccessful in isolating the large town of Estelli, but they did manage to destroy two bridges and a clinic. The contras weren't merely attacking because the aid packet gave their morale a boost. Observers report that the troops carried modern weapons and wore new uniforms.

As U.S. citizens contributing to the contra's cause with our tax dollars, we join the ranks of a number of illustrious and charitable groups. Also helping the contras are such respected organizations as *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, The World Anti-Communist League, the Moonies, and several British neo-Nazi organizations. The U.S. is obviously part of a confederation which shares a fanatical hatred for Nicaragua...

The Sandinista government has been rearranged, and the result is that more power has been placed directly in Daniel Ortega's hands. Several members of the National Assembly were dismissed for "political errors" and "lack of leadership." Land reform is going strong, to the sorrow of the large landowners, who are being paid for the expropriations in government bonds.

Costa Rica

President Monge, of the National Liberal party, was outraged over the border incident in which two Costa Rican guardsmen were killed and 9 injured. He took the Nicaraguans before the Organization of American States to complain. The Nicaraguans had been complaining about the contra camps within Costa Rica. They claimed that the Sandinista army had nothing to do with the attack on the guardsmen, but blamed the contras for the incident. The OAS condemned the incident, but did not specifically accuse the Nicaraguans.

The Costa Ricans have always been famous as the democratic people of Latin America. The literacy rate is quite high. They claim to be completely neutral, and have a very small military force. Yet their neutrality is dubious. Captured mercenaries informed the press that Costa Rican guard officers delivered weapons to Contra encampments, and donated 72 Brazilian-made grenades

to the Contra cause. And rumors have suggested that the military will be greatly enlarged, probably at U.S. expense.

Colombia

The two Colombian parties are the Liberals and the Conservatives. There is no substantial difference between the two. After the near-revolutionary liberal-against-conservative violence of the forties and fifties, the leadership of the two parties agreed to divide power evenly. The result was nearly thirty years of alternating liberal and conservative rule; a civilian government which made a farce out of free elections. This arrangement ended officially in the early 70's, but the liberal/conservative monopoly has continued.

Next year's elections, however, will have four presidential candidates: Virilio Barco, of the Liberals, Auriliano Gomez, Conservative, Galan, a populist of the New Liberals, a splinter group, and the candidate of the Patriotic Union (U.P.), which is the political branch of the Marxist guerrillas, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). This last candidacy is possible because the current President, populist Conservative Belisario Betancur, signed a truce with the four largest guerrilla groups. All except FARC have broken the truce. Mig, the largest guerrilla group, accuses the army of sabotaging their campaign efforts and attacking defenseless peace encampments.

It is likely that the more left-wing voters will be divided among the U.P., the New Liberals and the Liberals. The rightists will bring in Gomez. Gomez's campaign slogan, "Liberty, Order, and Peace," does not bode well for human conditions. Gomez's father was also a Colombian president, and was once described to me as being the worst, bloodiest president Colombia has ever had.

The military has not taken the overtly active role in Colombia that other militaries have in many Latin American countries. Nevertheless, they are very present. During the national civil strike this summer, tanks filled Bogota, the capital of Colombia, and soldiers armed with machine guns and tear gas walked the streets. The army has nearly complete control in certain rural areas, especially those with guerrilla activity. (There has been guerrilla warfare in Colombia for the last 20 years.)

Colombia has been under a state of siege for the last decade at least. This gives the military special privileges, including the right to arrest civilians without warrant, and to imprison them without trial.

Three progressive Catholic priests were murdered within the last year in Colombia, two by the military. One was supposedly running a roadblock with his companions, a peasant and an aged nun. The other was shot from a motorcycle by a member of F2, the Colombian version of the FBI.

Peru

There were elections in Peru this year and Alan Garcia of the APRA party was proclaimed president by congress (he did not win by enough of a majority to become president by popular vote alone). Garcia, at 36 Latin America's youngest president, is a populist. He proposes an about-face in economic policy and radical

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transformation of Peruvian society.

Yet his economic plan is nothing new, and uses measures that have failed in other countries. He plans to increase production to meet local needs, and says that basic provisions for the poor are the first priority. In public he talks tough to the international banking community, saying that Peru will only repay a small percentage of her foreign debt in the next few years, but the relations between Garcia and the banks continue to be cordial.

Also contradictory are his decisions to slash military budgets and purge corruption, and his continued good relations with the military. He has given them special privileges in the troubled Ayacucho province, where the Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrillas are active. The military now has the right to replace popularly-elected civilian officials with officers of their own choice. Though three-quarters of congress is left of center, Garcia's cabinet appointments show a solid conservatism rather than revolutionary attitude. He certainly hasn't changed the Peruvian social structure yet; we have seen no sweeping reforms.

It seems Garcia is popular with everyone but the Sendero Luminoso. They welcomed him into office with a massive blackout and several car-bombs, and have

shown no desire to negotiate with Garcia's government for a truce. The Sendero movement seems to be growing, as does the trend toward urban warfare. There were over 700 actions this year, and the armed forces want to declare a 4-6 month state of emergency.

There were reports that the Senderos cut off the ink-stained thumbs of voters during the elections, which they had boycotted.

But the Sendero is not the only human rights violator in the country. In July, the Armed Forces opened fire on a mixed group of peasants and guerrillas, killing 50 and injuring dozens. A U.N. human rights commission reported human rights violations on the part of the Armed Forces in the Ayacucho province, and a judge investigated the murder of a journalist accused the Armed Forces of the deed.

Bolivia

Bolivia had "elections" this summer (24% of the electorate voted). The winner was ex-dictator General Hugo Banzer, who was actually on trial for human rights violations during his campaign (if it could be called a campaign; he refused to speak to the press and stayed in seclusion). Banzer carved a little niche of his own in the human-rights-violators hall of fame during his rule in the

early '70's, a considerable feat for that time period, considering the competition. Banzer's opponent was an old friend, Victor Paz Estenssoro, who was a member of Banzer's military government. Paz Estenssoro, who first became president in '52, is 72 years old. In spite of old ties, there was considerable pre-election friction. Banzer's thugs bombed Paz Estenssoro's party offices and attacked demonstrators, killing several.

There has been much social unrest in Bolivia lately, due to the incredible four-digit inflation rate (inflation is expected to reach 8000%—yes, eight thousand-by the year's end). There have been strikes and roadblocks all year, the most recent blockage protesting "voter registration irregularities." Three peasants were killed in confrontation with the police.

Although Banzer won by 2.2%, with such a close margin the vote went to congress, who chose Paz Estenssoro. Banzer was so enraged he threatened a coup, but the Presidents of Argentina, Colombia, and Uruguay flew to La Paz, and talked him out of it.

So far Paz has emphasized "tough measures" against inflation, which has done nothing to calm the trade unionists. He has given the military a raise in salary and agreed to buy them some new toys. Any bets on how long his civilian government will last?

Next time: Mexico, Ecuador, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Cuba, and the Guyanas. ●

Sabotaging the Sandinistas

By Neil deMause

Anyone out there remember Nicaragua? It is sometimes hard to recall, what with the current media blitz on the situation in South Africa, that the U.S. continues to wage war on this nation "in our own backyard," as President Reagan likes to put it. South Africa is "in", Nicaragua "out" as an issue; but under the cover provided this summer by the media's preoccupation with South Africa, the Reagan Administration has been quietly stepping up U.S. involvement in Nicaragua to the point where we may finally be on the brink of all-out, overt war.

Nicaragua, of course, has been a problem for Reagan throughout his entire presidency. While he has continually expressed the desire to overthrow Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government by whatever means necessary, Reagan has been consistently unable to find an excuse by which to sell an ~~outright invasion~~ ^{outright invasion} to the American people, who have stubbornly refused to support our involvement in yet another war without the flimsiest of pretexts. On, then, in the search for the flimsiest of pretexts goes our President, hoping for either a "threatening" aggressive act by the Sandinistas, or simply an event elsewhere that generally raises patriotic, anti-communist fervor—such as the shootdown of KAL 007 two years ago provided for Reagan's last counter-revolutionary expedition, in Grenada.

This summer began with just such a wave of national patriotism and anger, with only one drawback: this anger was in response to the taking American hostages by Shiite terrorists in Lebanon, and therefore seemingly not transferrable to the situation in Central America. Reagan, however, had other ideas: hoping to capitalize on the clamors of conservatives and liberals alike that the U.S. must "retaliate against terrorism," Reagan announced in July that "terrorism" worldwide is controlled by five "outlaw states," including Cuba, Iran, Libya, South Korea, and, naturally, Nicaragua, all of which he said are now "engaged in acts of war against the Government and people of the United States." *The Wall Street Journal*, for one, liked this idea so much that it suggested outright that we retaliate against the terrorists in Beirut by bombing Managua, Nicaragua's capital.

(This sort of silliness is becoming disturbingly commonplace in world political thought. Consider that at the present moment, several American citizens are being held hostage by Lebanese terrorists, for the stated purpose of forcing Kuwait to release a group of Arab political prisoners. The proper response of the U.S., many observers suggest logically enough, is to attack Iran.)

Reagan received another opportunity to build support for a Nicaraguan War when 4 off-duty Marines were killed in El Salvador by that country's leftist guerrillas, who Reagan has repeatedly asserted are being supported by the Sandinistas, despite the continued inability of U.S. intelligence to find a single piece of evidence to support this claim. Salvadoran troops launched a "retaliatory raid" on guerrilla bases, killing 21 members of the group that had claimed responsibility for the Marine killing—an event which the *New York Post* saw fit to announce as "REAGAN GETS HIS REVENGE FOR MURDER OF MARINES." But Reagan apparently wasn't satisfied with this small-scale kind of revenge, for he seriously considered ordering "surgical" air strikes against the sites of the supposed Nicaraguan training camps for the guerrillas—a surgical air strike referring to a limited attack to destroy a specific target without further military involvement, and therefore a meaningless term in this case since Nicaragua would certainly retaliate on their own and lead to open warfare.

Can We Invade Yet?

Reagan, however, ultimately decided against invading just then—instead, he sent an extraordinary warning to the Sandinistas, saying that any terrorist attacks on American anywhere in Central America would, in the eyes of the U.S., constitute "another situation like acquiring MIG's." This was a reference to a statement of Reagan's last November, when he said that the U.S. "would not tolerate" the acquisition of high performance fighter planes by the Sandinistas, and would respond with surgical strikes against any such planes. This declaration had been acclaimed as perfectly reasonable even by many of Reagan's harshest Congressional critics on Central America, including Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd, and one can only assume that by tying the idea of Nicaragua acquiring MIG's (a very unlikely occurrence) to any terrorist attacks on Americans (a near-certainty), Reagan hoped to at last construct a premise for direct intervention both likely and acceptable to Congress. (And Congress at this point was beginning to look ripe for convincing—after renewing aid to the *contras* this spring, they had immediately turned around and amended a bill intended to limit the use of U.S. combat troops in Nicaragua by adding the stipulation that the President would be free to send troops "if sophisticated jet fighter planes or nuclear weapons were introduced there, to respond to hijacking or other acts of terrorism, to protect American citizens, or to counter a clear and present danger of at-

tack on the U.S. or its allies." This as the Bolland Amendment, which had prohibited the use of U.S. funds to help overthrow the Nicaraguan government, quietly expired August 8th.)

While the U.S. government lays down the groundwork for the Nicaragua War, the true horror of just what this war will be in support of was being made abundantly clear at the World Court by the testimony of former *contra* leader Edgar Chamorro. Nicaragua had filed suit at the World Court two years ago, after the revelations that the CIA had been actively mining Nicaraguan harbors. Caught in an obvious violation of international law, the U.S. simply walked out of the World Court, and refused to accept its jurisdiction; the suit, however, went on, and has since brought to light a great deal of fascinating testimony about the *contra* war. Here is Chamorro, a former leader of the FDN, the primary *contra* force, describing the recruitment policies he carried out with the full knowledge of the CIA:

"[*Contras*] would arrive at an undefended village, assemble all the residents in the town square and then proceed to kill—in full view of the others—all persons working for the Nicaraguan Government, including police, local militia members, party members, health workers, teachers and farmers. It was easy to persuade those left alive [to join]."

Another suitable "incident" in Central America, and Reagan will let U.S. troops go join the *contra* recruitment drive. ●



Education and Socialization

by David Freedman

Perhaps the education system in the United States is not as bad off as many people seem to think. True, a percentage of people make it through the education system and are illiterate, others never even make it; but maybe the situation is not so desperate. I would even venture to say that our system performs miraculously in achieving its goals.

Let me first clarify what this system is, for although I have referred to it as the "education" system, this is actually a false name. A more correct name for what passes as education is socialization. For while education teaches the individual to identify, approach, define, analyze, and solve problems, socialization tells the group the proper way to phrase a question and the "correct" answer. Where education creates a conflict between the individual and the information, in such a way that the two merge to form a higher conception, socialization generates a conflict between the students and the teacher, between the uninformed and the informed. While education teaches the individual to reject hypocrisy, injustice, and inequality, socialization shows students the way to succeed within the system. Where education allows the individual to form and grow, socialization molds the group. And finally, where education allows the individual to reject certain existing forms of institutions—institutions in the broadest sense of the word—socialization demonstrates the means to perpetuate what exists.

Thus, the differences between an education system and a socialization system exist in the very foundations of each. Our system should not propose to be anything but a socialization system, for it does socialize extremely well.

The efficiency of this socialization system can be easily seen when viewed in the light of oppressed people. Before the civil rights movement, socialization was not considered necessary. Blacks,



although free according to the letter of the law, had no chance of effectively bringing about change. Or so it was viewed. So, Blacks received a separate education.

But with the civil rights movement it became clear that, if left separate, Blacks would demand that the letter of the law become the spirit of the law as well. And so a drastic change occurred. This change came when the system became aware that if it espoused freedom and allowed assimilation, minority groups could become

they had failed utterly and were not good people. This alienated children from themselves.

The other method of alienation, that of alienating a child from his/her culture, is that of giving a child only specific heroes. Most heroes that minorities are given are white, some are bigots and slave-owners. Heroes from their same culture, shown to minorities, are sports heroes and figures. These are harmless figures. How can a child aspire to be a leader if these are the heroes he/she is allowed

is the goal of socialization, and thus, our socialization system functions to near perfection as per its goals.

The obvious question that arises from this examination is: if this type of socialization is so effective at home, why is it not incorporated into our foreign policy? Would this process of socialization not prove extremely useful in convincing foreign countries that they are free when in reality "we" continue to exploit the resources of these countries? If "we" could socialize foreign states, or entire continents, the "natives" would be subdued.

So why aren't these psychological tactics used abroad as they are used in Watts, Chicago's Southside, and North Philadelphia? Perhaps it comes down to man's desire to control life. Man can create life with one baby at a time, but can destroy life outrageously fast. So, too, man can terrorize and kill dissidents with more alacrity than students can be socialized. It seems, then, that supporting dictators like Pinochet, Marcos, and Botha alleviates the desire to control other humans' lives, and does it very quickly.

But this policy has backfired innumerable times. In Cuba, America supported Baptiste when the Cuban people expressed their desire for equality and dignity; the people finally resorted to revolution. If our policy had been one of socializing the Cuban people into believing themselves to be free, and of taking the revolutionaries under the wing of the eagle, can it be doubted that Cuba would be another Puerto Rico?

This has led us back to the original point: it is easier to dehumanize and exploit people who believe themselves to be free. Our socialization system performs to near perfection in its striving to alienate children from their cultures and themselves, and thus rob them of any human dignity and their chance to achieve equality.

ESSAY

alienated from themselves and from their cultures; in this way, they would not be able to take advantage of the freedom that they believed themselves to be born with.

To achieve this total alienation, the system began to blame the victim. Children who could not understand a topic were made to feel this lack was their fault. If they could not complete a project the way an instructor wanted it,

to believe in? Where are Malcolm X and W.E.B. Dubois and Huey Newton in the textbooks?

Thus, children are entirely alienated from themselves and their cultures. Children are taught to hate themselves. They are taught to hate the color of their skin, the persuasion of their beliefs, and their ancestors. From this total destruction of character comes a complete submission to authority. This

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specific description, i.e. "Western Colonialism and its Retreat" as opposed to, say, "The Effects of Colonialism in the Transformation of Non-Western Cultures" or even "Modern Asian History"); three courses in Natural Sciences and math, at least two of which must be natural science courses (in addition to a math competency requirement); one course in "ethical or moral choice"; and one course involving "sustained exposure to non-Western or Pre-modern culture or society."

Additionally, the proposal includes establishing a Director of General Studies (DOGS) who would have significant power regarding staffing of general education courses, what courses would be acceptable, and decisions over waivers of requirements of expectations for particular students.

The proposal is riddled with serious problems, including the centralization under the DOGS. There is neither time nor space to address all of the problems

The inclusion of non-Western and pre-modern cultures in this category implies that the present, modern Western culture is the culture, anything else is an other, something outside and not as important.

here, but some of the implications are especially ominous.

First, there is nothing in this proposal which addresses crucial social issues (not to mention some related "fields of study" or "modes of analysis") like feminism, racism, unemployment, multinational capitalism, or the militarism which threatens to annihilate all of us. In fact, including so many courses in the general education program that do not address these issues decreases the possibility that students will explore these issues in the classroom by reducing the number of "electives" possible.

A second weakness of POGS is the "other cultures" category. Notably, one course does not constitute "sustained exposure." More importantly, the inclusion of non-Western and pre-modern cultures in this category

implies that the present, modern Western culture is the culture, anything else is an other, something outside and not as important. Such an ethno-centric and Euro-centric attitude underlies the POGS and denies the crucial interaction of cultures, the exploitation and destruction of cultures through European and American imperialism and the intrinsic value and respect due to any human society.

Finally, the creation of the category "moral and ethical choice" implies a separation of moral and ethical issues from the realm of most education, scholarship and life. As a student of the social sciences I have learned that a critical awareness of the moral implications of a study and/or its use is essential for a proper understanding of the value and legitimacy of any enterprise. As a student of life I have learned that we all make decisions with moral and ethical implications on a daily basis. Relegating such concerns to particular courses would only serve to make most courses more superficial and to de-politicize that which is often of political significance. Addressing controversial issues on a political and moral level is the lifeblood of a dynamic center of learning.

During the past years' debate, two student groups, the WSA's APG (Academic Planning Group) and ISCAP (Independent Student Committee on Academic Planning, an outgrowth of a Democratic Socialists for Citizen Action sub-committee), presented a series of criticisms of POGS and some alternative proposals. These proposals, often presented by both groups, were quite radical, presenting a student-centered solution. Democratizing the university and encouraging critical thought about education were essential parts of the most important alternative proposal. Under the proposal, students would complete academic self-evaluation reports each spring. These reports would include considerations of the depth, breadth and integration of one's educational process. These forms, which would be optional, could be worked on with the assistance of faculty advisors. Their aim is to stimulate critical thought in the creation of a coherent and self-defined educational program.

At the end of the sophomore year, students would submit a program of study report, "outlining their fulfillment of self-defined general education, concentration and integration objectives." These forms, much like those presently required for University Majors, would be optional and would replace or supplement the declaration of a major. Also, majors' committees would be created in all departments and programs, contributing to curriculum planning, determination of major requirements, and tenure and hiring

decisions. Finally, the Committee on Honors and General Education would be divided into two committees, each with considerable student involvement and specific responsibilities, like reviewing general education expectations and curriculum offerings. This student proposal included other comments and suggestions, all with an eye toward restructuring Wesleyan and creating a student centered university.

Addressing controversial issues on a political and moral level is the life blood of a dynamic center of learning.

Unfortunately, much of this proposal is not acceptable to a significant portion of the Wesleyan community. One serious obstacle is the large responsibility placed on students; responsibilities many students are unwilling or unable to assume. Although desirable, such a non-hierarchical restructuring of the university is not a very realistic possibility. Thus we are left with a conservative, traditional, backward-looking proposal and a radical, student-centered democratic proposal. Continued discussion and debate are needed if creative and constructive ideas acceptable to the EPC and the faculty are to emerge. (Any changes in the program or expectations, for example, must be passed by the student/faculty Educational Policy Committee and by

Thus we are left with a conservative, traditional and backward looking-proposal and a radical, student-centered democratic proposal.

the full faculty.) What follows is a suggestion for general educational reform which may contribute to this debate.

At the heart of my proposal is the establishment of a frosh seminar program which would attempt to address some general education objectives. This program would include several, perhaps many, two-course series required or expected of all frosh. The two courses could be taught simultaneously or consecutively, and would have some connection to each other. At least on of the two courses in each series should include

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community to come in and try to run it or give it any guidance of any sort.

So there's a mixture of that. For me, it's an evolving relationship. There are some positive elements of the University, primarily in its student body, that have tried earnestly to involve themselves in the Middletown community. Many of those who have, find themselves lingering around for five or ten years, and sometimes longer! They like the feeling of the community and want to integrate themselves into it. With any institution there are always people who are hostile, and have no real sensitivity to the people who live here year round.

I guess I've had good experiences and bad experiences. It's not the center of my life, that is, the relationship between Wesleyan and Middletown. Wesleyan is just one of the institutions in the area.

Hermes: I've felt that many students overlook Middletown issues because they tend to focus on larger "world issues".

Mark: Having been that age and having grown up in Middletown, I was more concerned about world problems myself. I don't think that it is particular to Wesleyan students, but to people of that age in general. People are really worried about their relationship to the world. The question is, how do we take world situations and relate them to our own communities?

Most recently, I'm heartened by the activities saying that the situation in South Africa can be brought home to Wesleyan, asking this university to consider a more progressive policy in terms of its investment. I think the Sullivan principles were perhaps a good response in the seventies, but no longer. This university has to develop a moral position that reflects its interrelationship with the world and also reflect the opinions of its student body. It can't do that quickly or "willy-nilly", but it should be done prudently. Unfortunately, I don't think it's moved in that direction.

Hermes: How has the student body and the campus changed over the last ten or so years?

Mark: It's become much more conservative, much more elite. Back in the sixties there was a thing called "Hoy's revenge". Hoy was an admissions director who was

somewhat responsible for bringing Wesleyan all its turmoil in the late sixties and early seventies, by allowing people in who weren't straight A or high SAT types but rather people who looked at life in a different way, a little more holistic than the class of today. He brought in a lot of inner city black and hispanic students, a number of more liberal white students. There seemed to be a commitment to create an exciting and dynamic environment within the student body.

Over the years it seems that that's been taken over by the development office: "Let's get in people who are going to be high achievers," and who are going to accept many of the University's policies and not create any major disturbances.

I'm somewhat more pleased with the past few years, particularly with the serious politics that have gone on around the divestment issue. There may be a return back, not so much on the part of the University, but in terms of student leadership. There's a cultivation that's going on.

Also in the women's area. The women at Wesleyan have been, in many ways, the salvation of the University. They've really tried to develop a women's community. They represent Wesleyan's last remaining hope at being an exciting, liberal arts education environment.

But most of these thoughts come from a distance. I know a lot of students at the University, but my involvement with the student population has diminished over the years. I was much more active back in 1970 when I and two other students got together and set up the "Open Summer" program. We got the University to give us \$10,000 and used 6 of the Foss Hill units, hired a staff, and ran a day care program, a free breakfast program and a program at Great Hollow. We brought about 400-500 kids from the inner city and had them for 6 weeks here and two weeks at the camp.

So during those three or four years about 200-300 students would stay here to work on the program and became very connected with the local area. The whole thing came out of the student strike in 1970.

Hermes: As a final note, what kind of advice would you give to the incoming Wesleyan students, especially in terms of dealing with Middletown?

Mark: Don't feel that you have to "jump into

Middletown". They should be thoughtful about how they interact with the town. They should meet with various people, through courses or special interest groups. They should slowly probe the community to identify different resources and different people. And they think about the level of involvement that they can have in the context of being quite involved in their schoolwork.

Sometimes people want to do more than they can and I think that's a little dangerous. So if people were to say, "I have just a few hours a week," there are things like Big Brothers/Big Sisters, Community Health Center, Battered Women's Shelter, SAFE, CAGM and a lot of human service organizations that they can get involved in. They can also just use the time to make friends with local people. That's not that hard, in that many students are interacting in the town on a daily basis by shopping at Food Mart or eating at O'Rourke's. They'll slowly get to know the town and begin to figure out what they want to do with the town. And, if they can, read up on issues in the local paper.

It's really hard. I mean, the main reason that people have come to Middletown is to get an education. They surround themselves with other people who are also here to get an education. So their community is students. They should see how they can expand that community.

I know a lot of students who have taken a year off at one point or another. Usually that year off gives them a chance to spend a summer in Middletown. That's always a good opportunity because it's a little less threatening for both the town and themselves in terms of getting to know people.

I also think that there could be a lot more interaction between students and townspeople through the many cultural events sponsored by Wesleyan. Too often people in Middletown don't feel as if they are welcome at these events and more of an effort should be made to include them.

Hermes: One last question. Where does a swinging guy like you eat pizza, and how do you feel about Domino's?

Mark: Well, I prefer to eat at Pizza Palace, which is right across the street from my house. In terms of Domino's, my friends tell me that it is not worth it.

Hermes: Thanks a bunch. ●

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substantial amounts of writing (a crucial concern in general education). Series could be offered in the history and literature, or the history and philosophy, of Western Civilization, Chinese Civilization, North African Civilization, etc. Other possibilities include everything from biology and psychology to music and

Is [the university's] purpose to merely pass on the traditions of Western society and prepare people for 'the real world' or does it go beyond this to include searching for ways to improve society, to ease suffering, to help the earth and its people survive?

math to history and art to economics and philosophy. Granted, most of these series would be incomplete, and something like the existing expectations would be needed as a back-up.

In addition, interdisciplinary courses presenting various views about or relating to one theme or subject could be offered. With many professors participating

in each, such courses would promote integration of and introductions to various fields of study and modes of analysis. The existing Nuclear War class, although not successful in fulfilling all of these goals, is an example of this possibility. These two approaches, particularly in conjunction with each other, could be an effective means toward meeting the perceived needs of general education.

There are many issues at stake within academic planning. What "programs" should have an established major? (Last year two new majors and corresponding "programs" were established: Medieval Studies—isn't this a subset of the broad category "History"?—and Cognitive Studies, on the human brain and artificial intelligence, which seems bound to lead to CIA or Defense Department concerns. At the same time, the 10-year-old Women's Studies Program limps along without an official major, largely by the good graces of certain departments. Hopefully this will be remedied during the present academic year.) How are resources to be allocated to non-departmental programs like Women's Studies? Should the art department be streamlined? Should we have a tenure track physical anthropologist? In what fields should the 10 or 12 new endowed chairs (professorships), a result of the capital campaign drive, be distributed? Should computers, foreign languages or math competency be required of Wesleyan graduates? These are some of the specific questions being asked.

In broader terms, it seems that Wesleyan needs to ask itself about its goals. Is its purpose to merely pass

on the traditions of Western society and prepare people for the 'real world' or does it go beyond this to include searching for ways to improve society, to ease suffering, to help the earth and its people survive? Should we be striving to understand and creatively solve problems facing individuals and society, to find new ways to live? Where is the university focused? Is teaching or research and reputation primary? Can the two be ef-

Wesleyan has a lawyer and financier (president Colin Campbell) and a conservative professor (Vice-President of Academic Affairs Nat Greene) at the helm, and an educational studies program which has not participated in the debate to date.

fectively balanced, and if so how? Should students have and take responsibility for their educations? Is there a crucial role for non-classroom learning and if so, can we identify it?

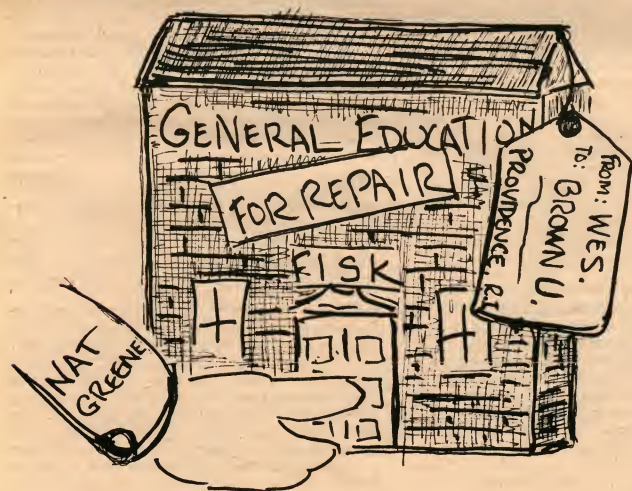
Answering even some of these questions is a tremendous task, and is made more difficult since there is no educator setting a tone and trying to fulfill some vision. Wesleyan has a lawyer and financier (President Colin Campbell) and a conservative professor (Vice-President of Academic Affairs Nat Greene) at the helm, and an education studies program which has not participated in the debate to date.

Some answers do seem clear. As a primarily undergraduate institution, Wesleyan must focus on undergraduates. As an institution of learning its primary responsibility is to its students, even if we recognize the importance of research in aiding and attracting professors and in allowing them to continue being students. As an institution dependent on its students for much of its dynamism and reputation, students should have a major voice in determining their education.

Although students do control their educations significantly at Wesleyan, this freedom is under attack. Backward steps to requirements, male-defined Eurocentrism and directive education will not solve Wesleyan's academic difficulties. The administrators' hand-picked committee failed to produce many salient ideas, so we as students must take the responsibility to improve our educations and to avoid institutional regressions. Our education and that of future students is at stake.

With changing recruitment policies, the elimination of pure aid-blind admissions and the administration's continued refusal to divest, the quality and progressiveness of a Wesleyan education declines. If students are unwilling to take the initiative and responsibility, Wesleyan will only become a more rigidified, conservative institution. ●

ADDRESSING OUR ACADEMIC PROBLEMS



The Image of the Enemy

By Tim Burke

The first thing a soldier learns in boot camp is that the enemy is a thing, a creeping soulless machine that stalks the jungles or the trenches, hunting for your life. The enemy acquires nicknames: "Gook", "Jap", "Jerry", "Charlie". It becomes a force: "Charlie is out in the bushes"; "The Jerries are advancing". Bodies pile up as bloody scenery or figures on strategic calculations; they rot somewhere deep in the soldier's brain like stray vegetation. It is this denial of humanity that makes war possible.

Or merely violence, real or imagined. The "nigger" is vulnerable to lynching; the "pinko" is blacklisted. This is nothing new: we have known this for so long; we have seen a hundred thousand echoes of that moment when the soldier or politician suddenly sees the mist clear and a human face appears behind the facade of the enemy; that moment where the killer is betrayed and becomes trapped in a cynical repetition of what he now realizes is murder. Macbeth is not truly stained until he sees the king as a human stripped of life by his knife rather than a force stealing his ambitions; the Vietnam vets still sleep uneasily because no hero's welcome served to assure them that the moment of recognition was an ugly dream, conjured by the phantasm of the jungle.

The Left proclaims its opposition to dehumanization in its myriad forms. Black is beautiful, womanhood is glorious, the revolutionary is the super-human who lives life to its fullest. Human beings will be free to live the lives demanded by their inner souls; the oppression which degrades the worker, the minority, the woman, the gay, the rebellious individual seeking his own drum-beat will be liberated. How? By defeating, with guns, words, or moral appeal, the racist, the capitalist, the colonialist, the sexist, the stern-faced white fat-bellied mansion living Sydney Greenstreet-laughter evilman. The sinister society of oppression will someday vanish under our righteous revolution; we will shoot down, burn

it, win it over.

We too are the soldier in boot camp, taught to conceive the image of the enemy.

We too are betrayed by our teachers, for the moment will come where a human face will dance teasingly before our eyes behind the mask of the enemy and we will either surrender the field altogether or become soulless killers, professional demolitionists who have forgotten that we first walked this road because we thought something better was somehow possible, because somewhere, even the hardest, the most radical of us, believed that somewhere love still lives. Neither the soulless killer nor the surrender can be acceptable to us. Victory is still our goal, but not at any price.

But how can we win against the human? The image is easy to defeat (or at least it seems easy); it can be torn down, mocked, replaced. A war of posters is easier to fight than a war against your brother, your mother, your father, yourself. The blood is paint rather than real. And this is precisely why we always chose to construct the image of the enemy, so we can fight against phantoms. Fighting the true enemy, who lies about you in your life, hurts, especially if the simple route of closing off your nerve endings and choosing revolution as a profession is denied you.

And what of the lessons it has cost us so much to learn? Did we not discover systems of oppression, maintained for the interest of collectives? Have we not come to understand that the individual is never alone and that his or her evil is no accident of character? Are we to abandon this and evaluate the peasant and the landlord alike? How can there be an "us" if there is no locus to the oppression that shackles the human spirit? If evil lies in the individual, does that mean that the struggle against evil lies in the individual as well?

Yes and no.

Yes, because once we recognize the trap of the image, we can no longer blithely assemble our rage for an

assault on a non-existent stereotype of class or race or sex. The enemy can be both victim and victimizer, other and self.

No, because to perceive the struggle against oppression as a struggle purely against individuals is to lose the battle before it is even begun. There is a system that transcends individuals, a system which moves at times without any specific directive or guidance. There are collectives who benefit from an unjust world; there are collectives who suffer.

We challenge oppression on two fronts. We see the system, utterly without human components, possessing a furious momentum of its own; we challenge this. We strip its gears, steal its weaponry. And in part, we accomplish this by turning to the individuals who turn in its vast machinery. We know where to look first, where oppression has a likely, but not inevitable home. Stripped of an image we can crush, we turn to them and one-by-one understand their evil—and ours. Not all who benefit from oppression share in its evil, and if we mistake them as the enemy we have already failed. Not all who suffer from oppression are free of the evil we wish to defeat, and if we ignore them we again fail. We can not hope to oppose any person until we take the time to apprehend their side in the struggle. And one might protest that this puts the day of liberation far, far away—that to stop and ruminate on the value of every person and the value of our inner selves is a self-indulgent activity available only to those to whom liberation is a luxury—and one might be right. Discarding the ideological boot camp that trains us to build the image of the enemy makes success on the battlefield all the harder, in part because it abandons the battlefield in significant ways. But accepting the image of the enemy and fighting the struggle as a cool destroyer simply insures an endless cycle of battles as the liberator becomes the oppressor, the victim the victimizer. It shackles us to an eternal war against phantoms with human faces. ●

Harrington

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New Left had a major impact on colleges, which continues to this day. In colleges all over the country, there are younger faculty members who are now in their 30's and 40's, who were members of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). You have courses now in college on Marx, on Labor History, on radicalism... This did not happen in the '50's... So I think that's an enormous change, and the result is the younger people in the United States—you have at least 40% of the younger people in the United States at least get their noses into college—a significant number of them... have been exposed to the idea that there are anti-capitalisms which are democratic, which is the basic concept, that you can be an anti-capitalist, a socialist, and not a totalitarian....

Hermes: In *Toward a Democratic Left*, you talk at length about North/South (Hemispheres) problems, and in *The New American Poverty* you mention the New International Economic Order. Do you think that some of the bottom-rung jobs that the immigrants are taking here are perhaps just a part of the internationalization of low-labor cost jobs, but within our borders?

Harrington: Sure. This gets very complicated. My attitude is that I'm for the internationalization of the world economy. Unlike some of my friends, I want steel jobs to go to the Third World... I don't want the Third World to be forever hewing wood and hauling water... What I'm against is the cost of transition being borne by steel workers. The way we've got it organized, an American company which wants to improve its profits simply says good-bye to the workers, doesn't even shake their hands. My feeling is, the Swedes—one of the problems with Sweden is it has 8 million people, it's very small, with a homogeneous population; a lot of things they can do we can't do—but nevertheless the Swedish attitude toward these things is they want jobs to go to the Third World, but they see to it that when a job goes to the Third World, it's not the worker in Sweden who simply gets cast adrift. Seven hundred thousand steel workers have lost their jobs; I don't think the answer to that is to stop the South Koreans from making steel. I think the answer is to force these totally irresponsible, badly managed countries to pay some of the real costs of production, which they simply imposed on the steel worker in their communities.

Hermes: Is this something you can foresee being legislated here?

Harrington: Sure. In Europe—the Europeans right now are reducing their protection of jobs—but I think there are plant-closing laws which have passed; in Philadelphia they passed. State plant closing laws have to be very modest, otherwise they'll just move to another state. I think a Federal plant-closing law, imposing some kind of basic responsibility for anybody who employs, let's say more than 100 workers, having to give notice, paying some of the costs, cut a deal with the local authorities. But the way we have it now, you had this outrage about two years ago. Steel companies demand concessions from the steel workers' unions, they guarantee stable employment as part of the deal, they get the concessions. United Steel turns around and starts closing plants left and right.

I'd like to burn these guys in oil. Now, I wouldn't propose in the Congress that we burn them in oil, but I'd

certainly go after their pocketbook, which is the same thing.

Hermes: On a tangential point: How do you feel about the unions' behavior? They seem to be revitalized now in terms of their social programs, but for a long time they seemed to be mostly involved in protecting "middle-class" blue-collar workers.

Harrington: I never bought that. In the American left for about the last thirty years one of the distinctive things about me has been that I always insisted that the American trade union movement has to be part of the left. Particularly the New Left, rightly angry that George Meany and the officialdom of the AFL-CIO supported the war in Viet Nam, got so pissed off at this that they started saying "workers are a bunch of Archie Bunkers, they're a bunch of chauvinists, racists who want to kill people in the Third World, keep Blacks down here, keep them out of unions." And I always said no, that's not true, that's not the typical worker... And I think I was and I am right. After all, trade unions are the most integrated institutions in the United States; much more integrated than the Church, much more integrated than the schools. Somewhere between 25-30%



of the UAW is made up of black people. I don't know any other institution that has double the percentage of Blacks in the population....

Hermes: I've also read your arguments against the idea that workers have priced themselves out of the market.

Harrington: ...In the '50's and '60's, everyone was very proud that we payed those high wages, because they said—and there was a lot of truth to it—that the high wages are the basis of the high profits, are the basis of the high production, and the reason we have such a high standard of living, compared with the Soviet Union or with Europe, is we pay such high wages. And it was only in the 1970's when capitalism went into crisis, that Nixon and Simon and company discovered that wages were bad. It used to be thought they were good.

Hermes: That seems such a patent hypocrisy. Did they just say suddenly that this was inflationary?

Harrington: No. I think what happened... It was assumed in the 1960's that you could have permanent economic growth rather easily. Paul Samuelson (author of an economic text) thought that if you followed a smart liberal Keynesian policy, there was no reason we couldn't have three and a half percent annual growth indefinitely.

This was in 1967. Around 1969 or '70, for a number of very complex reasons, this liberal pipedream burst. And I think that what changed was productivity started slowing down, competition from the Japanese and Germans started heating up, there was the OPEC shock—but I think OPEC reinforced trends already in existence and it was then that the system turned out to be not quite so easy to manage as everyone thought. Then they turned against it. And I think that a great deal of the secret of Reagan's success—part of it is these enormous deficits; the guy's a Super-Keynesian—but part of it started with PATCO (the Air Traffic Controllers Union, whose members were dismissed by Reagan during a strike early in his first term), and the concessions, that out of the high unemployment, and the very scary conditions of the American economy, American business has reduced the real wages of a lot of union workers enormously. Profits are going up because wages are going down.

In the '60's it was thought that rising wages would lead to rising profits, which would lead to rising wages, which would lead to rising profits; a virtuous circle going upward. And in the '70's, the argument came up that they abused that, and I think what changed was that there was a structural change in the American economy, and that the liberal notion of endless growth always had been wildly optimistic.

Hermes: That there has to be a limit to consumerism as an economic spur?

Harrington: No. My theory is that capitalism as it was constituted in 1970 could not tolerate much social justice, but since I happen to think that for the foreseeable future there's going to be capitalism, I think in the future you could have a society which is still capitalist which would have much higher levels of social justice. But to do that I think we have to go through a change as radical as the Roosevelt change. We look back and we see that the Roosevelt change was the best thing business ever got. At the time most American businessmen thought Franklin Roosevelt was the American version of Stalin.

Hermes: This being your point that it's cost-effective? There was an editorial in the New York Times today in favor of WIC and the Child Immunization Program; that every \$1 spent on immunization saves \$3 in hospitalization. That seems to be a notion that's slowly catching on.

Harrington: Yeah; one of the things that's coming out from the Ypsilanti study from Michigan on Head Start, which a lot of people thought didn't do very well, and it turns out that kids who had Head Start 15 years ago—now in their late teens, early twenties—are much less likely to be in jail and much more likely to be working. And since people who are working pay taxes, and since jail now costs about as much as going to Harvard or more, I think you can make a cash-and-carry argument for social justice. Which I sometimes make: It's not the one that convinces me, but it does persuade other people. ●

News on 11

Colleges Stop Squealing

The Education Department has dropped a disputed rule requiring colleges to verify that male students receiving Federal aid have registered for the draft, officials confirmed today.

The rule had been set to go into effect this fall, but Secretary of Education William J. Bennett decided it was not necessary because a spot check found 98 percent of all young men were registered with the Selective Service, the department said.

Male students will still have to sign a statement on their forms applying for aid attesting that they have registered, but colleges will not be required to get further documentation.

Sharon Messinger, spokesman for the Education Department's Office of Postsecondary Education, said the rule change would spare college officials "an avalanche of paperwork."

-AP
9/12/85

Filipinos Plan Protests; Army Goes on Full Alert

The Philippine Army was placed on full alert today as anti-Government activists called for strikes and a mock trial of President Ferdinand E. Marcos to mark the 13th anniversary Saturday of the declaration of martial law.

Military headquarters said Lieut. Gen. Fidel Ramos, the nation's military chief, also ordered regional commanders to adopt measures to prevent Communist rebels from using the demonstrations to promote violence.

Militant student groups, workers, farmers and human rights campaigners have said they will paralyze major areas as part of a national protest against the Marcos Government.

-Reuters
9/19/85

Right Buys

continued from page 3

groups. Foremost among such big spenders is the Coors Company, notorious for its anti-union activity and its discrimination against gays and lesbians. The Coors Foundation heavily funds several major conservative youth organizations, and contributes to almost all of them. Joseph Coors himself sits on the boards of USICEF and the powerful Heritage Foundation think-tank.

Religious groups have also gotten in to the act. A tabloid called "The Frontrunner," published in Florida by the Maranatha Campus Ministries, claims to have circulation on fifty college campuses. Its articles focus primarily on social policies, urging students to "become involved in student government (because) a well-organized minority can often set policy for the apathetic majority." For those who don't have access to the paper, a TV version of it is beamed to hundreds of cable outlets throughout the country. A better-known operation is the fundamentalist "US Press," which is described to its readers as "ULTRA-right-wing." Like "The Frontrunner," this publication also has an extensive readership and is becoming increasingly active in the political arena. Its leaders are currently holding conferences in different parts of the country, with an eye toward their huge national gathering in Washington only a few months before the 1986 elections.

Not all conservative-youth activity centers on domestic politics and issues. More and more, the student groups are becoming occupied with foreign affairs and American foreign policy. Just before last year's presidential election, for instance, the USA Foundation organized a tour that took the American students "rescued" by the U.S. invasion of Grenada to over 100 college campuses. The tour also made a strategic stop in Washington, where the group appeared on national television with the President.

Even more disturbing are the conser-

vative movement's ties with right-wing elements in Central America such as the Reagan-backed Contras in Nicaragua and the neo-fascist ARENA Party in El Salvador. Several college students who traveled with the Contras in recent years have now begun a publication called *The Freedom Fighter*, and are distributing copies of it with the help of a youth group called the Coalition for Democracy in Central America (CODECA). This undertaking, of course, has gained the students much national attention; one founder of *The Freedom Fighter* says he has been interviewed well over a hundred times.

Roberto D'Aubisson, who leads El Salvador's ARENA Party and has been condemned repeatedly by the American government for his links to Salvadoran death squads, has also hooked up with sympathetic students in this country. Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), an organization founded by William F. Buckley, has gone especially out of its way for d'Aubisson. The president of the Georgetown University YAF chapter, in fact, promised on Salvadoran television that he would work to improve the image of d'Aubisson in the United States. The ARENA leader was even going to appear at Georgetown to speak, until he was caught lying in public about his activities back home.

Although YAF and its companion groups have not always found large audiences for every one of their causes, their general popularity is remarkable. Colleges and universities, long considered the root of leftist causes and concerns, have been experiencing a surge in conservatism and an erosion of their liberal values. Right-wing groups have the necessary tools for success—money, organization, talent, and the backing of a party and an administration with immense wealth and support. The conservative youth network is slowly changing the way issues are seen by young people and the way political thought is heading. And right now, no one is able to turn that tide around. ●

Editorial Collective
Ryan Alexander
Marion Appel
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Neil deMause
David Freedman
Oonagh Doherty
Brad Kessler
Dan Kolbert
Collin Roberts
Beka Schreiber
Mark Ungar
Ben Waxman
David Weber

PAC Scandal: Face-lift or Farce?

Bobby Clark, director of Public Information at Wesleyan, admitted today that the new facade to the PAC is "just a big joke."

"For the first time in Wesleyan's history, we found ourselves within sight of completing a construction project. Naturally, we panicked," explained Clark.

The administration, fearful that a new excuse to hit up alumni would have to be found upon completion of the Olin-PAC-Harriman Megalopolis, immediately diverted 50% of all manpower and funds to arranging bricks in seemingly random patterns on the East face of the building.

"Isn't it hilarious?" queried Clark. "We've got stairs that don't go anywhere, dead-end tunnels, and we killed all the grass."

"Go ahead—put posters on it, spray paint it paisley, puke on it. We don't give a shit. Hopefully the whole thing'll collapse during the hurricane and we'll be delayed another semester."

Glass Cuts Kissinger's Nose

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger suffered a slight cut on his nose today from glass shattered by a news photographer who inadvertently crashed through a glass partition at the Citadel, a military school where Mr. Kissinger spoke on nuclear arms issues. The photographer, Curt Norman, was rushing outside Mark Clark Hall to take Mr. Kissinger's picture when he accidentally shattered a partition beside a door.

-UPI
9/19/85

Scientists Against Star Wars

A recently formed group of scientists and engineers is trying to get colleagues across the country to sign an unusual pledge of refusal to participate in research for the Reagan Administration's plan to create a space-based shield against nuclear attack.

The campaign, formally announced here today, began simultaneously at Cornell and the University of Illinois several months ago, just as most college campuses were letting out for the summer. It has spread to 39 campuses, according to the organizers, and has gathered signatures from fewer than a thousand of the tens of thousands of professors and graduate students in physics, chemistry, engineering and the computer sciences.

Lieut. Col. Lee DeLorme, a spokesman for the Pentagon's Strategic Defense Initiative Office which is directing the antimissile program, said today that the military did not expect the pledge to have any effect on the program.

-NYT
9/13/85

Lockheed Must Change Nuts on Five New Transport Aircraft

As many as 25,000 nuts on each of five new C-5B aircraft will have to be replaced before the Air Force will accept the planes, spokesman for the Lockheed Georgia Company said today.

The spokesman, Dick Martin, said the wrong nuts had been used in the planes, which are the largest in the world. He said he did not know when the error was discovered or how much it would cost to correct.

Lockheed still expects to deliver the first of the \$123 million transport planes by the Jan. 1 deadline, Mr. Martin said.

Lockheed received a \$7.4 billion contract to build 50 of the planes in December 1982. Five are to be completed this year and one of them is ready to fly, he said.

AP

9/20/85



Editorial

Q: How many committees does it take for Wesleyan to divest?

A: Just one more...

It is time for the students of Wesleyan to end their constructive engagement with the administration. Student trustees, student-written reports--even protest groups which want to "work with" the administration--all serve to validate Wesleyan's continued refusal to divest from companies doing business in South Africa. So long as we act as partners in the farce of "studying all the options," we can count on volumes of rhetoric ("...if there is to be any peace in [South Africa], apartheid must end." -C. Campbell, the *Argus* 9/6/85) and a deafening silence when concrete proposals are mentioned.

While we agree with President Campbell that education is a necessary step in any political process, it should be obvious by now that "education" has become an administrative euphemism for stalling, in the hope that the current mania over South Africa will pass. Anyone who has been here for more than a few weeks has had ample opportunity to educate him or herself. For those who still feel unsure (and we know that many people have jumped on the divestment train with little reflection), we offer a synopsis of the arguments for divestment on page one.

Campbell writes in his letter to the *Argus*: "Since 1978 we have taken the position that American companies can help to eliminate the evils of apartheid..." Who's we? Since the first sit-in for divestment in 1978, there has been a strong consensus for divestment among the students here.

The Class of '82 commissioned a report, which showed that divestment has no adverse affects on a portfolio. This is sugar-coating the pill, and is not the argument that should motivate. Still, it was ignored. This summer's events have shaken even the most complacent trustee, and in the face of this, a 30-college consortium (which Wesleyan "led the effort to form," announces Campbell proudly) has hired the Investor Responsibility Research Center to "analyze the political, social and economic implications of withdrawal of American companies from South Africa." Well, as a student trustee explained to us, the IRCC's coming out for divestment would be like shooting themselves in the foot; the more "options" for our portfolio, the more studies we will commission from them. Anyone who has not been convinced by the facts will not be convinced by the reports.

Campbell has always been unsparing in his damnation of South Africa, yet he would have us believe that divesting from two companies in eight years and writing a letter to the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa "urging that organization to take an active role in pressuring the South African government..." are the most potent acts of a wealthy institution supposedly dedicated to some reasonably noble ideals.

We need to rid ourselves of the idea that Colin, and the trustees, are our pals. Campbell writes: "I have been greatly encouraged by the thoughtfulness, commitment and civility which have marked the discussions and debates concerning Wesleyan's response to the situation in South Africa." He is a master at appearing to listen to students. Make no mistake: Colin does as Colin wishes.

It is time for some "uncivil" behavior; playing by the Administration's rules is like screaming into a vacuum. There is a tremendous fear of upsetting people, that they'll be persuaded if only we're nice. If there is one lesson of student activism, it is this: Be obnoxious or be ignored. We hope this will be taken to heart; too many disgruntled seniors have left wishing they had stepped on a few more toes, raised their voices at a few more trustee breakfasts.

Another student trustee, in a column in the Sept. 24 *Argus*, writes: "I had two major hopes for this weekend (the trustees' meeting). First, I wanted to see a structural framework for the review of our investment policy set up, with the most important element of this review being a strict time limit--the review must be completed...by February." Is this what happens when dedicated student activists are allowed into the board room? They look at a semester and a half review process, with no mention of a decision at the end, as a positive step, something for which to strive? How many more South Africans will be dead then? We don't question the student trustee's motives. But there comes a time when we all must admit that what we originally thought was empowering has become conspiratorial.